

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 147789
ORIGIN NODS-00

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA FLASH
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE 0000

S E C R E T STATE 147789

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, US, TZ

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER TO PRESIDENT
NYERERE
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 147789

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 2453

1. IN PRESENTING NYERERE WITH PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER
(BELOW), YOU SHOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS ORALLY:

A. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS ASKED ME, IN PRESENTING
THIS LETTER TO YOU, TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO THE
MAJOR POINTS CONTAINED IN THE LETTER.

B. THE LETTER, I SHOULD NOTE, WAS READY FOR
TRANSMISSION WHEN REPORTS WERE RECEIVED IN WASHINGTON

OF YOUR MEETING WITH THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS AND YOUR
SUBSEQUENT PRESS CONFERENCE.

C. PRESIDENT CARTER UNDERSTANDS YOUR REASONS FOR
CONCERN, AND REGRETS HIS LETTER DID NOT REACH YOU
BEFORE YOUR DECISION TO VOICE THOSE CONCERNS AS YOU
DID PUBLICLY.

D. HE HAS ASKED ME TO EMPHASIZE THAT HE HAS NO IN-
TENTION WHATSOEVER OF RETURNING THE UNITED STATES TO A
POLICY OF SUPPORT, OF ANY KIND, FOR COLONIALISM IN AFRICA.

E. THE FOCUS IS ON SHABA AND THE US IS NOT PARTICI-
PATING IN ANY BROADER SECURITY MEASURES -- THAT IS, A
WESTERN-BACKED INTER-AFRICA SECURITY FORCE.

F. THE PRESIDENT WISHES TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT HIS
ADMINISTRATION IS NOT DEPARTING FROM THE FUNDAMENTALS OF
ITS AFRICAN POLICY. IN A SPEECH JUNE 6, HE SAID:

BEGIN QUOTE IN AFRICA WE AND OUR AFRICAN FRIENDS WANT TO
SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 147789

SEE A CONTINENT THAT IS FREE OF THE DOMINANCE OF OUTSIDE
POWERS, FREE OF THE BITTERNESS OF RACIAL INJUSTICE, FREE
OF CONFLICT, AND FREE OF THE BURDENS OF POVERTY, HUNGER
AND DISEASE. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE BEST WAY TO WORK
TOWARD THESE OBJECTIVES IS THROUGH AFFIRMATIVE POLICIES
THAT RECOGNIZE AFRICAN REALITIES AND ASPIRATIONS. END
QUOTE

G. HE WANTS TO ASSURE YOU THAT OUR BASIC POLICY
STILL IS TO VIEW AFRICAN PROBLEMS IN AFRICAN TERMS.

H. HE WANTS TO STRESS THAT HE IS ABSOLUTELY COM-
MITTED TO OUR COMMON ENDEAVOR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AND HE
HOPES THAT WHAT YOU HAVE SAID IN NO WAY INDICATES THAT
YOU ARE TURNING AWAY FROM CONTINUED CLOSE COOPERATION IN
THAT REGARD.

2. TEXT OF LETTER:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED BY YOUR LETTER
OF JUNE 1 TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH YOU ON RECENT EVENTS IN
SHABA AND THE INITIATIVES THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS SUP-
PORTED TO RESTORE ORDER THERE. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO
SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON THE BROADER PROBLEM OF
OUTSIDE INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. I PARTICULARLY WELCOME
THE FRANKNESS IN YOUR LETTER AND WILL REPLY IN THE SAME
SPIRIT.

FIRST OF ALL, I WANT TO REASSURE YOU ON THE NATURE
AND INTENT OF OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE SHABA OPERATION
AND IN THE JUNE 5 MEETING IN PARIS.

OUR INITIAL DECISION TO PROVIDE SUPPORT TO THE AIR
RESCUE MISSION AT KOLWEZI WAS BASED ON HUMANITARIAN
SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 147789

CONCERNS THAT, IN THE EVENT, TURNED OUT TRAGICALLY TO BE
WARRANTED. THE SITUATION EXISTING IN SHABA COULD TRIGGER
ECONOMIC COLLAPSE, REGIONAL FRAGMENTATION AND WIDESPREAD
SUFFERING THROUGHOUT ZAIRE. IF THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF
SHABA IS TO BE RESTORED AND A FURTHER BREAKDOWN IN ORDER
AVOIDED, THERE MUST BE AN EFFECTIVE MILITARY PRESENCE
THERE. IT IS CLEARLY UNDESIRABLE THAT FRENCH AND BELGIAN
FORCES REMAIN THERE INDEFINITELY. SOME AFRICAN STATES
HAVE OFFERED TO TAKE THEIR PLACE. AT THE REQUEST OF ALL
INVOLVED, WE ARE FACILITATING THIS EXCHANGE OF UNITS BY
PROVIDING A US AIRLIFT.

WHATEVER ONE MAY THINK ABOUT SOME OF THE PRACTICES
AND POLICIES OF THE ZAIRE GOVERNMENT, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE
TO IMAGINE ANY BENEFIT THAT MIGHT FOLLOW TO ZAIRE OR
TO AFRICA FROM A REPETITION OF THE INTERNAL CHAOS THAT
PLAGUED ZAIRE DURING THE MID AND LATE 1960S AND BROUGHT
SUCH SUFFERING AND DEPRIVATION TO THE POPULATION. THE
FIRST STEP IN PREVENTING A SIMILAR SITUATION FROM ARIS-
ING NOW IS TO RESTORE NORMAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND
PEACE IN SHABA.

OUR PURPOSE IS NOT SIMPLY TO SUPPORT THE STATUS QUO
IN ZAIRE. AS I DISCUSSED WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA LAST
MONTH, WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THAT FUNDAMENTAL REFORM MUST
BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF ANY LASTING SOLUTION TO ZAIRE'S
DIFFICULTIES. WE SEE THE RESTORATION OF PUBLIC ORDER IN
SHABA AS AN ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP.

IN VIEW OF THE URGENCY OF THE SITUATION WE ATTENDED
THE JUNE 5 MEETING IN PARIS TO DISCUSS THIS IMMEDIATE
PROBLEM WITH THE FRENCH AND OTHER CONCERNED EUROPEAN GOVER-
NMENTS. WE ARE NOW PREPARING FOR THE BRUSSELS MEETING ON
SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 147789

JUNE 13-14, WHERE LONGER RANGE PLANS FOR INTERNAL REFORM
AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY WILL BE DISCUSSED WITH THE GOVERN-
MENT OF ZAIRE.

THE FRENCH AND OTHERS HAVE, INDEED, RAISED THE POSSI-
BILITY OF FORMING A WESTERN-BACKED INTER-AFRICAN SECURITY

FORCE. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT OUR FOCUS IS STRICTLY ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN SHABA. I CAN ALSO ASSURE YOU THAT WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF PARTICIPATING IN ANY NON-AFRICAN FORUM THAT ARROGATES TO ITSELF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR FINDING SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. I WOULD FIND A SECOND BERLIN CONFERENCE JUST AS REPUGNANT AND HISTORICALLY ANACHRONISTIC AS YOU DO.

I RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA, AND FOR A NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT BETWEEN THEM THAT EACH WILL RESPECT THEIR COMMON BORDER AND WILL NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE OTHER'S INTERNAL UNREST. THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY SUPPORTED NIGERIA'S EFFORTS TO MEDIATE SUCH AN AGREEMENT AFTER THE FIRST INVASION OF SHABA. SOME PROGRESS WAS MADE IN THOSE TALKS. I VERY MUCH HOPE THAT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA, WITH WHATEVER AFRICAN HELP PROMISES TO BE MOST EFFECTIVE, CAN BE RESUMED.

I RECOGNIZE THAT THE PROBLEMS UNDERLYING TENSION AND UNREST IN VARIOUS PARTS OF AFRICA ARE COMPLEX AND LONG-STANDING. MY ADMINISTRATION HAS CONCENTRATED ON SEEKING SOLUTIONS THAT STRIKE AT THE ROOT OF THESE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS. WE HAVE EMPHASIZED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS THAT WILL HELP AFRICAN COUNTRIES REMOVE THE DISPARITIES IN MATERIAL WELL-BEING THAT LEAD TO SOCIAL CONFLICT.

ON POLITICAL QUESTIONS, THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO SUPPORT AFRICAN STATES WORKING THROUGH THE OAU IN SEEKING SOLUTIONS TO MAJOR ISSUES. ON THE CRUCIAL QUESTIONS OF RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, I RECOGNIZE THAT MUCH OF
SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 147789

WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED TO DATE HAS BEEN THE RESULT OF YOUR WISE COUNSEL. I SHALL CONTINUE TO DO ALL THAT I CAN TO WORK CLOSELY WITH YOU AND YOUR FRONT LINE COLLEAGUES TOWARD THE INDEPENDENCE, MAJORITY RULE, AND PEACE THAT WE ALL SO DESIRE IN THOSE COUNTRIES.

THIS APPROACH TO ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES IS THE FOUNDATION OF OUR POLICY IN AFRICA.

WE CANNOT, HOWEVER, IGNORE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA. AS IN OUR MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON, I SUPPOSE WE MUST CONTINUE TO DISAGREE ON THIS QUESTION. TO ME, THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA, WHILE THEY MAY SOMETIMES COINCIDE WITH THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF AFRICANS, ARE DIRECTED PRIMARILY TOWARD ENHANCEMENT OF THEIR OWN SPECIAL INTERESTS. AS IN ERITREA, THEY SEEM TO PREFER MILITARY SOLUTIONS THAT TAKE HUMAN LIVES AND PROLONG SUFFERING TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS WHICH BRING LASTING STABILITY.

DESPITE DIRECT REQUESTS THE SOVIET UNION HAS NEVER SUPPORTED OUR EFFORTS TO FIND A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS IN ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA. THEIR OVER-ARMING SOMALIA DIRECTLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE CONFLICT IN THE OGADEN. THIS, I HAVE HAD TO CONCLUDE, WAS THE CASE ALSO IN SHABA. WE ARE PERSUADED BY THE EVIDENCE THAT CUBAN PERSONNEL WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE KATANGANS IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS PRECEDING THE ATTACK ON KOLWEZI.

SOVIET AND CUBAN AGGRAVATION OF LOCAL DISPUTES SHOULD BE OF REAL CONCERN TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND TO ALL AFRICAN NATIONS, SINCE IT INTERJECTS AN UNNECESSARY EAST-WEST COMPETITIVE ELEMENT INTO THE CONTINENT, WITH ALL
SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 147789

OF THE CONSEQUENCES YOU HAVE SO CLEARLY ARTICULATED. OUR REACTION TO THE SHABA PROBLEM WAS NOT, HOWEVER, ONE OF REFLECTIVE ANTI-COMMUNISM OR COLD WAR POLITICS. IT WAS BASED ON HUMANITARIAN CONCERN AND RESPECT FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTEGRITY OF A LEGITIMATE AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING AFRICAN STATES, WORKING THROUGH THE OAU, IN SEEKING SOLUTIONS TO THE MANY DIFFICULT ISSUES FACING THE CONTINENT. THE EFFORTS OF THE OAU IN DEALING WITH CONFLICTS IN ERITREA, THE OGADEN, CHAD, THE SPANISH SAHARA AND NOW SHABA, HOWEVER, HAVE THUS FAR BEEN OF LITTLE AVAIL, DESPITE THE CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS OF MANY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS. LEFT UNRESOLVED, THESE PROBLEMS INVITE THE INVOLVEMENT OF OUTSIDE AND NON-AFRICAN FORCES.

I HOPE THAT AFRICAN LEADERS SUCH AS YOURSELF WILL FIND THE MEANS TO RESOLVE THESE PROBLEMS AND THAT THE KHARTOUM MEETING WILL PROVIDE THE CATALYST FOR EFFECTIVE AFRICAN ACTION.

I REMAIN SINCERELY COMMITTED TO A POLICY OF SUPPORTING AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS BECAUSE I KNOW THAT, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, PERMANENT SIGNIFICANT RESULTS ARE POSSIBLE ONLY IN THIS WAY. THE ALTERNATIVE IS ONE THAT YOU AND I KNOW WOULD BE IN THE INTERESTS OF NEITHER AFRICA NOR THE UNITED STATES. OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE SHABA PROBLEM WILL BE CAREFULLY DESIGNED TO MINIMIZE NON-AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT. I LOOK FORWARD TO YOUR ADVICE AND HELP IN BRINGING ABOUT A SOLUTION THAT WILL BE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF SHABA, ZAIRE AND ALL OF AFRICA.

PLEASE ACCEPT MY PERSONAL BEST WISHES AND SINCERE APPRECIATION FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO FURTHER OUR DIALOGUE. I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING FROM YOU FURTHER. SINCERELY,
SECRET

PAGE 08 STATE 147789

JIMMY CARTER END OF TEXT

3. FOR LUSAKA: IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, PLEASE ATTEMPT TO
DELIVER THE ABOVE TO NYERERE BEFORE HE DEPARTS JUNE 10
FOR LUANDA.

4. FOR DAR: IF LUSAKA UNABLE TO DELIVER ABOVE TO NYERERE,
PLEASE DO SO AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER HE RETURNS FROM
LUANDA. VANCE

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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